

Respondent, having a few years earlier announced its "disaffiliation" from the Communist International, was not "called upon to participate in the decision" (Pet. Ex. 207, p. 657, J.A. 1573-1574). It did, however, hail and support the dissolution (Exs. 205, 206, 207; J.A. 558-561, 1572-1574). Stalin, who at the time was the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and a leading member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, stated the dissolution was "proper and opportune" in that it facilitated the organization of a general onslaught against the common enemy, "Hitlerism" (Ex. 204). In supporting and hailing the dissolution of the Communist International, Respondent took the same line as that expressed by Stalin, i.e., that the dissolution "is a well aimed blow . . . at Hitler . . ." (Ex. 206, J.A. 1573), and pointed out in the *Daily Worker* that the "particular organizational form for international proletarian unity . . . became a hinderance to the further strengthening of the national workers' parties" but that the dissolution "must not be mistaken as a sign of weakness or of helpless collapse" (Ex. 205, J.A. 1572). In view of the foregoing, and upon consideration of the subsequent manifestations of the operations of the world Communist movement and of Respondent's conduct and activities as elsewhere herein covered, and upon the entire record, we find and conclude that the dissolution of the Communist International was merely the termination of the use of that "particular organizational form", and a change in the means and the particular vehicle for promoting and advancing the world Communist movement.

We find that during the year following the announced dissolution of the Communist International, Respondent's organizational form and some of its tactics underwent a change. It became known as the "Communist Political Association" from May 1944 until June 1945¹ when it was

¹ Foster opposed the change on the ground it was not in line with the revolutionary position of Marxism-Leninism. His opposition was contained in a letter to the National Committee, which letter was suppressed from the membership at the time and not made known until shortly before the change back to the CPUSA (J.A. 1138-1139, 1302-1303, Ex. 208, pp. 660-661).

reconstituted as the Communist Party (J.A. 1144-1152). During this period, there was a de-emphasis on the use of some of the Marxism-Leninism principles and the central teaching was around the current documents of the Party, which put forward the so-called "Teheran line" that advocated, at least for the time being, a peaceful co-existence of the United States and the Soviet Union (J.A. 691-692). We note that in becoming the CPA there was no substantial change: Respondent's membership and leadership were the same (J.A. 1130-1132; Ex. 433), and upon reverting to the CPUSA in 1945, similarly, its membership was the same and, with one substantial exception, so was the leadership (J.A. 1152). Because of his lack of adherence to the proper tactical line, Earl Browder was characterized as a "revisionist" and "deviationist", and was deposed as a leader whereupon the full Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology and action was again re-emphasized (J.A. 976-977, 1144-1152).

Respondent's present organizational form commenced with its return in 1945 to the name Communist Party upon simultaneous dissolution of the Communist Political Association (J.A. 1152-1153). A primary purpose of again changing was to re-emphasize the Marxist-Leninist Classics, particularly the writings of Stalin, the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* and Dimitroff's Report to the Seventh Congress which deals with the true nature of how to conduct the united front while forwarding the Communist revolutionary aims (J.A. 1145-1146).

We find that in addition to this re-emphasis on Marxism-Leninism, which it was established by the evidence in this proceeding are the basic laws for a world Communist revolution, the facts directly surrounding the reconstitution are indicative of foreign domination and control of Respondent.

¹ In January 1950, Petitioner's witness Lautner, then on Respondent's Central Control Commission, and Jack Kling, then National Treasurer, discussed Browder's recent pamphlet wherein he stated that during the fifteen years of his leadership in Respondent, all major policies put into effect had the previous knowledge, consent and active support of the decisive international Communist leadership. Kling called it stool pigeon work on the part of Browder (R. 11272).

A few weeks after returning from Moscow to France, Jacques Duclos, a leader of the French Communist Party, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International until the announced dissolution of that organization, and a spokesman for the world Communist movement, issued a statement through the French Communist Party Journal, entitled "On the Dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States" (Ex. 208; J.A. 562-563; see also: J.A. 705-706, 784-787, 1144-1152; Ex. 372, J.A. 1692-1694). Duclos' statement appeared in the April 1945 issue of the French publication. The substance and effect of the Duclos statement is that it was a mistake to dissolve the Communist Party of the United States—"in truth, nothing justifies the dissolution of the American Communist Party, in our opinion" (Ex. 208, p. 671); that a "powerful Communist Party" in the United States is necessary "in the struggle taking place between the progressive forces of the earth and fascist barbarism" (Ex. 208, p. 672; J.A. 1575). Upon the record, we find that the Duclos statement represented authoritative criticism made by a spokesman for the world Communist movement (J.A. 565, see also: J.A. 566-567).

In the month (May 1945) following the publication of the Duclos statement in the French Communist Party organ, Manuilsky, a leading Soviet Union Communist, and a former official of the Communist International, who at the time was in the United States as Ukrainian representative to the United Nations Conference on Organization in San Francisco, let it be known to Respondent that it should observe the guidance and counsel of the French comrades (J.A. 1135-1143, 1182-1185, 1294). In June, the National Board of the Communist Political Association met and called a meeting of the National Committee for later in the month, which in turn called a national convention for July. It was at this convention that the CPUSA was reconstituted in its present form as a militant Marxist-Leninist party (J.A. 1143-1154).

As in the case of forming the Communist Political Association the year before, the same persons who had been officials of the CPA and the Party before that, led in re-

forming the Communist Party and, with the exception of Browder and a few others with minor rank, remained the leaders of the reconstituted party. As earlier herein found, Browder was expelled as a "revisionist" for departing from the orthodoxy of Marxism (see J.A. 1150; Ex. 208, p. 660, J.A. 1574-1575; Ex. 372, J.A. 1692-1694). Foster, upon taking over as a national chairman pointed out the necessity for re-emphasizing the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism (Ex. 372, J.A. 1692-1694).

The record establishes that subsequent to the reconstitution of Respondent, an additional event of significance has taken place in the world Communist movement—the formation of an organization known as the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties or the Communist Information Bureau, sometimes referred to in the record as the "Cominform". The significance lies in Respondent's attitude toward this organization, the sameness of views and policies of Respondent and the organization, and Respondent's use and treatment of statements appearing in *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, the official organ of the Cominform.

The exact nature and characteristics of the Communist Information Bureau are not precisely defined on the record. The record shows that the organization is composed of a number of Communist Parties of various countries (Exs. 214-A and 367; J.A. 1575-1578, 1676-1677) and was established as a result of a decision taken at a conference held in Poland toward the end of September 1947 (J.A. 580-581). The record contains copies of two reports given at this founding conference, one by A. Zhdanov, then a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the principal Soviet representative at the founding conference (Ex. 214-A, J.A. 1575-1578). The other report was given by Georgi M. Malenkov, then a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and secretary of the CPSU.¹ (J.A. 937-

¹ Subsequent to the closing of the hearings for the purpose of taking evidence in this proceeding, and upon the announced death of Joseph Stalin, Malenkov has become the announced leader of the Soviet Union. See additional reference to Malenkov at p. 92-98 of this report.

938; Ex. 367, J.A. 1676-1677). Based on these reports and the testimony of witnesses, we find that the purpose of the Communist Information Bureau is to mobilize forces in opposition to United States "imperialism".¹

Shortly after the establishment of the Cominform, Respondent announced publicly that "the present political situation in the United States is such that the Communist Party should not affiliate" with the new Information Bureau, but stated the establishment of the Bureau "is of great significance" and makes more effective the "resistance to the program of imperialist expansion". Respondent's announcement further states that Respondent "will continue to promote the international solidarity of all anti-fascists and anti-imperialists" (Ex. 368).

Respondent's witnesses Gates and Flynn, members of the National Committee, in summarizing Respondent's position stated that all they know about the Information Bureau is what they read in the "capitalist" press and the journal of the Bureau; that the Information Bureau never issued directives to Respondent; and, that Respondent's use of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* is to see what is going on within various Communist Parties throughout the world with whom Respondent shares common interests. The record shows an attitude of arrogance and evasiveness on the part of witness Gates concerning the Communist Information Bureau which causes us to discount much of his testimony on the matter. Even after considerable questioning on cross-examination he was unwilling or unable to explain what was meant by "official documents" of the Cominform for which Respondent waited, before taking a position regarding the organization, and was unwilling or unable to explain why and how, in that connection, Respondent's announcement that it would not join the Cominform was made seven days before publication of the first issue of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, dated November 10, 1947, which he

¹ The Communist concept of "imperialism" and "the struggle against imperialism" is covered in detail at pp. 81 to 103 of this report.

had said might have been the official documents. Upon being asked whether issues of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* weren't received over here "before they were published? Before November 10, when the first issue came out?", the record shows the following at (J.A. 1249):

A: [by Gates] "Well, I don't believe in the supernatural, but if you do that may have been possible.

"Mr. Brown: That is unnecessary.

"The witness: I can only answer a stupid question in such a way."

Later, Gates was questioned regarding whether the Communist Party in the United States or the *Daily Worker* or *Political Affairs* ever deviated from the expressed views and policies of the Cominform, and answered to the effect that the Party and *Daily Worker* never deviate from what they consider the best interests of the American people and "if we have not expressed any disagreement with any views that have been put forward in *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, that is because we believe those views have not been in contradiction to the interests of the American people" (J.A. 1249-1250). He was then asked to give any instances of deviation and replied, "I have answered the question." The question was repeated by a Panel member who asked the witness if he could answer yes or no, to which the reply was, "(It) is a loaded question," and upon being advised the panel did not consider it to be, the witness responded with, "You may not think so, but I think so."; and, "After all, I am the one who is on the witness stand and not you" (J.A. 1250).

The evidence shows that the Zhdanov report, contained in the first issue of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, was studied in Respondent's clubs or cells as "the key to the whole movement" (J.A. 777-778); that it was used in Respondent's schools as a major document stating and explaining the strategic aims of the world Communist movement (J.A. 953-957; 1064-1065). Malen-

kov's report was also studied and discussed (J.A. 937-938). The record further shows that copies of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* have been made available to functionaries and clubs or cells of Respondent. Petitioner's witness Philbrick, based on nine years' membership and activity in the Party, states that a member of Respondent could not disagree with a directive or a position taken by the Cominform and still remain a member of the Party (J.A. 780-781). Additional facts concerning the Communist Information Bureau are set forth elsewhere in this report.

The two aforementioned reports of Zhdanov and Malenkov (Ex. 214-A, Ex. 367; J.A. 1575-1578, 1676-1677) comprise the most direct evidence of record bearing upon the nature and characteristics of the Communist Information Bureau aside from what is contained in Respondent's announcement that it would not join the organization. Zhdanov's report says the Communist International was dissolved because "the direction¹ of these parties [what he calls "mass labor parties"] from one centre became impossible and inexpedient" (J.A. 1577). But, he continues, "experience has shown that such mutual isolation of the Communist Parties is wrong, harmful and, in point of fact, unnatural" and that "continued isolation may lead to a slackening of mutual understanding, and at times, even to serious blunders" (Ex. 214-A; J.A. 1578).

Malenkov puts it as follows (J.A. 1676-1677):

"The absence of contact between Communist Parties is a hindrance in coordinating the actions of Communists in various countries in their resistance to the plans of the imperialists, particularly now, when American monopoly capital is organizing an offensive against Communism and democracy against the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies, developing its expansionist plans with the intention, under the guise of 'aid', of enslaving a number of European and other

¹ Compare Zhdanov's use of "direction" with the public announcements that the Comintern was dissolved to help defeat Hitlerism (p. 28 herein) and to stop the "false charges" of direction from Moscow.

countries, and when Communists are called upon to define their attitude to these plans of American imperialism.

"In our opinion it is necessary to put into effect definite measures designed to eliminate the present abnormal situation in this respect.

"That is why we consider it necessary to discuss at the present conference both the international situation and the question of improving contact between Communist Parties, of establishing regular connections between them a view to achieving mutual understanding, exchange of experience and voluntary coordination of activities of the Communist Parties whenever they consider this necessary" (Ex. 367, p. 445).

Respondent's statement characterized the Cominform as "a medium through which these parties can consult, and, if they deem it desirable, coordinate activity" (Ex. 368, p. 2).

In 1943, upon approval by the member Communist Parties of a proposal by the Presidium of the Executive Committee, the Communist International was dissolved to stop what they called false charges that (the International dictated directives from Moscow.¹ As later herein developed, a fundamental principle of the world Communist movement is to do the best possible for the cause under given circumstances—to charge when conditions warrant and to retreat when conditions require so as to marshal forces and await the sharpening of the opportunities. In view of these facts, of the foregoing facts concerning the Cominform, and on the entire record, we find and conclude that the Communist Information Bureau represents what the Communists consider the best possible substitute at the present time for the Communist International and that Respondent's support of the Information Bureau, its use of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, and its non-deviation from the line of the Bureau, are done for the

¹ See Note 1, *supra*, p. 34.

purpose and with the aim of advancing the objectives of the world Communist movement.

Summarized, the foregoing establishes that shortly after its formation in 1919, Respondent became a part of the "World-Communist Party", dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union; that in 1924, Respondent was "amalgamated" pursuant to instructions of the Soviet Union; that in 1929, a factional dispute in Respondent was settled by the Soviet Union and new leadership of Respondent was installed according to directives from the Soviet Union; that in 1940, Respondent publicly announced "disaffiliation" from the Communist International (organizational form of the World Communist Party) and that the real reason being to avoid registration as a foreign agent and its "disaffiliation" was merely pro-forma and represented no change; that from May 1944 to June 1945, Respondent's name was changed to Communist Political Association and Respondent followed the tactical maneuver of advocating the possibility of peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union; that in June 1945, Respondent changed its name back to the Communist Party under circumstances in which the Soviet Union played an active part; and that since June 1945 there have been no major or substantial organizational changes in Respondent.

In addition to the fact that the variations in the organizational structure of Respondent have been based upon specific directives and instructions from the Soviet Union, these variations are a manifestation of Respondent's following the over-all Marxism-Leninism policy of doing what is opportune at any stage of the revolution, as later herein developed.

In determining whether or not Respondent is dominated and controlled by a foreign government, we have taken into consideration certain facts established on the record concerning the careers and activities in their official capacities of a number of Respondent's present leaders, including its national chairman, William Z. Foster. We have previously herein set forth the fact that Foster became a leader of

Respondent as a result of the solution in 1929 of the factional dispute in Respondent upon action by Joseph Stalin, and the Communist International. In this connection, it is pertinent to consider the following statement by Stalin in 1929 as contained in certain speeches he made on the American Communist Party (J.A. 1542):

“The struggle for the winning of the millions of the working masses to the side of Communism must be intensified. The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the . . . storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm” (Ex. 145, p. 111).

It is reasonable to conclude that the selection of Foster as a leader of Respondent following the speech of Stalin, identifies Foster as the type of leader to whom Stalin referred.

We further find that for a number of years prior to 1940, Foster was an official of the Communist International; that Foster and Jack Stachel, among others, represented the Respondent at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1935; that Foster is a recognized spokesman for the world Communist movement; that Foster is recognized among Communists as an authority on and follower of Marxism-Leninism; that Foster in 1944 did not push his objections to the formation of the Respondent as the Communist Political Association but rather refrained from deviating, for the stated reason that he would have been expelled if he had. In view of the foregoing, and upon the whole record, we conclude that William Z. Foster has been controlled in his activities as a top leader of Respondent by leaders of the Soviet Union and, during its existence, by the Communist International; and we find that this furnishes some evidence that Respondent as an organization has been and is controlled by the Soviet Union.

We further find that a substantial number of Respondent's present leaders including Foster, Stachel, Bittelman, Green, Winter, and Williamson have been to the Soviet Union on numerous occasions on Party business and have been indoctrinated and trained in the Soviet Union on Russian strategy and policies. These leaders have taught in Party schools, written for the Party press, and spoken at Party meetings, on various phases of Marxism-Leninism, including the leading position of the Soviet Union, the concept of proletarian internationalism, and the necessity of revolutionary overthrow of imperialist nations, particularly the United States. We find that Foster and these other leaders of Respondent have accepted the views and policies of the Soviet Union and have carried such views and policies into Respondent, making them the views and policies of Respondent. We find that this fact furnishes additional evidence that Respondent is dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union.

In making the foregoing findings, we have taken into consideration the facts as to the recognition by Respondent's leaders of a disciplinary power in the Soviet Union, and the allegiance of such leaders to the Soviet Union, as elsewhere in this report set forth.

The variations in the organizational structure of Respondent can very well be said to conform to the over-all policy of Marxism-Leninism of doing what is expedient under the given circumstances at any stage of the revolution, as set forth in *Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 343, pp. 21-22; J.A. 1647-1659), one of Respondent's compilations of basic Marxist-Leninist material. It is pertinent at this point to determine the meaning of "Marxism-Leninism" as understood and followed by Respondent.

2. Marxism-Leninism

The Respondent's constitution (1948) (Ex. 374; J.A. 1695-1706) (readopted in 1950, J.A. 171) states in the first sentence of its Preamble: "The Communist Party of the

United States is a political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism." Respondent's amended answer (pp. 10, 20-21, J.A. 171, 179-180, 182-183) also admits that Marxism-Leninism is basic to the CPUSA. Marxism-Leninism is nowhere in the record specifically defined. It should be noted that we recognize that the theory of Marxism-Leninism, as such, is not an issue in this proceeding. Nor is it our purpose to consider the merits of Capitalism vis-a-vis Communism. However, in view of the fact that Marxism-Leninism is declared to be basic to Respondent and because of the numerous references to it in the course of these proceedings, and in order to cast as much light as possible upon the issues involved, we have deemed it important to determine its actual meaning from the evidence of record. In this section, we present our findings of what it is, and how it is understood, used and followed by Respondent. We have limited ourselves here, in the main, to the meaning of Marxism-Leninism. The extent of Respondent's acceptance of it and adherence to it is more specifically treated in other portions of this report, wherein it is shown that adherence to Respondent's conception of Marxism-Leninism is evidentiary of submission to the domination and control of the Soviet Union.

In our determination we have had to reach certain conclusions concerning some of the terminology employed both in the writings and in the testimony of the witnesses. Where a difference in the meaning of any term appeared, we have given it the meaning warranted by a preponderance of the evidence.

The sources of Marxism-Leninism and also its corpus are to be found in the writings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin and their collaborators, which writings are generally referred to as the "Classics".¹ In order to understand the content of these Classics, we deem it desirable to present something of the background in which they are produced and also to indicate what we consider to be the chief

¹ See Appendix "B", attached.

contributions of each of the above individuals to the Classics and to Marxism-Leninism.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Karl Marx, a German scholar, and Frederiek Engels, an Englishman, developed what became known as Marxism. This was a form of Socialism. The basic tenet of Socialism is the ownership by the state of all means of production and distribution. According to Marx, all society consisted of antagonistic classes, the principal one being the bourgeois or capitalist class, which, as a result of owning privately the means of production, exploited the propertyless working class. Marx announced particular interest in the propertyless factory workers whose numbers had increased as a result of industrialization. These factory workers he designated as the proletariat. Marx was influenced by the dynamic theories of the German philosopher Hegel, and applied Hegel's theories to the materialistic concepts of the Greek philosophers and developed a system which he called dialectical materialism. This is a theory of reality assuming continuous transformation of matter and dynamic inter-connection of things and concepts and implies social transformation through socialism toward a classless society. Marx came to the conclusion that the only true value was the labor of the industrial working class. It was his thesis that capitalism had to expand in order to continue to exist and, as it spread, the proletariat class would correspondingly increase in numbers. According to his conception of history, capitalism contained the seeds of its own destruction and consequently it was inevitable that the classless state of society which he designated as Communism would ultimately come about. In order to expedite this, he theorized, it was necessary that the proletarian class, which would be greater in numbers than the bourgeoisie, be organized and be given leadership by a political party of all the workers of the world. The objective of this party would be to bring capitalism to an end and substitute for it a dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialist state. Eventually, according to his theory, the dictatorship of the

proletariat would not be necessary because the state would wither away as soon as its citizens had become conditioned to living in a one-class society. Two of his most basic considerations were the class struggle and the world-wide character of the revolution. Much of this appears from the *Communist Manifesto* (Ex. 31, J.A. 1339-1342), published by Marx and Engels in 1848.

Lenin, a Russian revolutionist, adapted Marxism to Russian revolutionary purposes.¹ He proceeded to implement it in a way that gave it a practical turn. He utilized slogans. Consequently, he gave capitalism a new name: "imperialism". The quintessence of imperialism is monopoly-capitalism which "is the eve of the proletariat social revolution". He recognized that for the success of the proletariat revolution two things were most important: rigidity of organization and flexibility of policy. Organizationally, one of his first postulates was the necessity of creating a homogeneous group of disciplined professional revolutionists, among whom no factionalism or dissent would be tolerated, as a nucleus for the party of the proletariat. It should be noted that the Communist Party was formed in 1898 in Russia.² Lenin's group therein, the Bolsheviks, obtained control of that party in Russia because it was an intransigent body which permitted no deviation or compromise.

Stalin later advanced the Marxist-Leninist ideas to a practicality which developed somewhat differently from Marxist theoretical schemes. He says (*History of the CPSU(B)*) (Ex. 330, pp. 355, J.A. 1629):

"The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still,

¹ See foreword to *What Is To Be Done?* (Ex. 417; J.A. 1734-1736), by Alexander Trachtenberg, one of Respondent's leaders and manager of International Publishers.

² Trachtenberg's Foreword to *What Is To Be Done?* (Ex. 417; J.A. 1734-1736).

but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in its development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions."

What this means becomes clearer from what he previously stated (J.A. 1628-1629):

"The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future."

There is also clarification in what he says subsequently (J.A. 1630) when he tells how Lenin altered Marxism because of his experience in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. The tactical aspects of the theory thus attains a flexibility which would appear to make it mean what the current leaders of the CPSU want it to mean. So regarded, the theory supplies an easy explanation for all phenomena and furnishes a justification for any line of conduct which these leaders have adopted.

Marx, Lenin and Stalin represent the supreme authorities of what became known as Marxism-Leninism as these writings constitute its body. All postulated the revolution on a world-wide basis. Lenin, and after him Stalin, proclaimed that it was not necessary to wait until the proletariat throughout the entire world was ready for a revolution, but that the attack against the capitalist world rightfully began by breaking its chain at the weakest link, which proved to be Russia. The Communists in Russia having succeeded, they then sought help from the proletariat throughout the world to support their victory. They also proceeded to try to foment revolution in any part of the

world where it had a chance of being successful. The best example of applied Marxism-Leninism is the Communist International. That this organization is based on Marxism-Leninism appears from the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* (Ex. 330, pp. 231-232; J.A. 1628-1632). (See also pp. 19-20 and 25, under Organization and Leadership, *supra*). Using the Communist International as an instrument, the Soviet Union, as the leader of an integrated organization with subsidiary groups throughout the world, issued directives to the Communist parties in the several countries. What these directives were and how they applied to Respondent will appear in a discussion of the Classics and of the testimony of witnesses which follows, as well as in various other sections of this report.

Against this background, it is pertinent to inquire why the Classics were written. An examination of their content discloses that they were intended to create, promulgate and advance the world revolution of the proletariat. At an intermediate stage, they concentrated in large measure on Russia. At no time, however, was the main objective forgotten and when the revolution was successful in Russia, the emphasis was again brought back to the revolution on an international scale.

It should be noted that in the summaries, paraphrases, and quotations from the Classics which follow, we have conscientiously striven, and, we believe, successfully so, for complete accuracy and have endeavored to hold closely to the essence of the material being analyzed. Where excerpts have been quoted, we have selected those which we consider representative of the whole tenor of the writing from which they are taken.

How basic the international and revolutionary factors of Marxism-Leninism are appears at its inception in *The Communist Manifesto* (Ex. 31); "The history of society is the history of class struggles." (p. 9) "The bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary role in history." (p. 11) "... and are now to be superseded by the proletariat

through similar means." (p. 15) The proletarians have become organized into a class and consequently into a political party (p. 18). Of all the classes opposing the bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class (p. 19). The Communists are a proletarian party whose aim is the conquest of political power by the proletariat (p. 22). The proletariat will become the ruling class and will use its political supremacy to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie. The measures used to do this will be different in different countries (p. 30). The Communists everywhere must support every revolutionary movement against the existing order of things. Their ends can only be attained by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Workingmen of all countries are exhorted to unite for the Communist revolution (p. 44) (see J.A. 1339-1342).

This international and revolutionary aspect is further stressed in the writings of Lenin and Stalin. In *State and Revolution* (Ex. 139), Lenin objects to the "chauvinism" of those "leaders of Socialism" who would water down Marx's doctrine by limiting it to single states (p. 5). Speaking of the Russian Revolution of 1917, he states: "This revolution can be understood in its totality only as a link in the chain of Socialist proletarian revolutions called forth by the imperialist war" (p. 6). "A Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (p. 30). In *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Ex. 423, pp. 47-48; J.A. 1749-1751), one of Lenin's fundamental postulates is quoted by Stalin on the international question: International imperialism cannot live side by side with the Soviet Republic and the greatest difficulty of the Russian Revolution is "the necessity to solve international problems, the necessity to call forth the world revolution" (J.A. 1750). Stalin makes this thought even clearer in *Foundations of Leninism*. He says (J.A. 1428) that Leninism is not merely a Russian but an international phenomenon; and (J.A. 1429) that the Russian Communists were im-

pelled by the whole situation, domestic and foreign, to transfer the struggle to the international arena. The same thought is even more forcibly expressed in Stalin's definition of Leninism (*Problems of Leninism*, (Ex. 138, pp. 7-9; see also p. 19) (J.A. 1500-1503)). From this definition it is clear that the whole movement based on Marxism-Leninism is regarded by its founders and chief protagonists as an internationalism which must operate with common theory and strategy and tactics in all countries. It is inescapable that all those working for the ultimate ends of the movement must work in unison and in one cohesive organization on a world-wide basis. This thought is expressed strongly in the Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International (Ex. 8, p. 67):

“4. It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above, that the policy of the Communist International on the National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism, without which national equality and oppression cannot be abolished.

“5. The political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over Imperialism.”

The same thought suffuses the Classics throughout. It is not a tenet that can be accepted here and rejected there.

It is integral in the whole texture of the material of the movement which those Classics represent. Like a fast dye, it colors every portion of that movement and cannot be eradicated because it is of its very essence.

It would burden this report unduly to quote in extenso the references in the Classics to the international and revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism and the interrelation of the sections of the Communist parties in all countries which it requires. Attention is directed to a number of places where these references are deemed particularly significant:

Foundations of Leninism (Ex. 121, pp. 17-19; p. 45, last par. and p. 46; J.A. 1427-1443); *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (B) (Ex. 330, pp. 273-75; J.A. 1618-1632); *State and Revolution* (Ex. 139, pp. 5, 6); *The Theory of the Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 422, pp. 85-89; J.A. 1746-1748); *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Ex. 423, pp. 48-49; J.A. 1749-1751).

We conclude from the above that the Classics advocate a revolution of the proletariat on an international basis, through the instrumentality of an international organization.

The primary objective of the world revolution is the termination of capitalism and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin used the word "imperialism" to designate what he calls the parasitism and decay of capitalism at its highest stage of historical development (*Imperialism*, Ex. 140, p. 14). This imperialism is the arch enemy of the proletariat (J.A. 1520-1521):

"Not the slightest progress can be made toward the solution of the practical problems of the Communist movement and of the impending social revolution unless the economic roots of this phenomenon are understood and unless its political and sociological significance is appreciated.

"Imperialism is the eve of the proletarian social revolution. This has been confirmed since 1917 on a world-wide scale."

It should be noted that the Classics emphasize strongly the use of slogans. The word "imperialism" and its adjective-noun form "imperialist" are used therein to form a variety of slogans. Thus, it will be seen from *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Ex. 330, pp. 167-69) that the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan of "*converting the imperialist war into a civil war*" and the slogan-policy of "*the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war*" (J.A. 1618-1619). As a corollary to this approach, wars are designated as "just" and "unjust". The "just" or "anti-imperialist" war is waged assertedly to liberate the oppressed from the yoke of imperialism. The "unjust" war is supposedly to conquer and enslave others. Wars of the first kind, the Bolsheviks supported. Of wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks said, a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government (J.A. 1619). From these pages it will be seen that, according to Lenin, while capitalism is decaying and moribund, "imperialism" would not rot on the stalk; it could not be overthrown without a revolution.

We conclude from this that the Classics designate as the enemy, against which the international revolution must be directed, that form of capitalism which they term "imperialism"; and that they declare that any war waged against such imperialism is a just war and any war waged in its behalf is an unjust war.

Equally basic with the international and revolutionary character of the movement is the tenet of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In view of the divergence of testimony of witnesses for Petitioner and those of Respondent concerning the meaning and application of this tenet, we have taken particular pains to ascertain its real character. It is best understood from the volume *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Ex. 423, J.A. 1749-1751), which is one of a series of "Readings in Leninism", consisting of articles and excerpts dealing with basic points of Leninist theory. Lenin's postulates on this question (pp. 47-54 of Ex. 423) make clear how important this phase of the revolution is

deemed. Having once seized power through revolution, he states it becomes necessary that this power be held by a "dictatorship of the proletariat". A definition of what this is intended to be appears on page 49:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of the class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . which has achieved victory and has seized political power, against the bourgeoisie who have been defeated but not annihilated, who have not disappeared, who have not ceased their resistance, who have increased their resistance."

Lenin makes clear that this dictatorship is not to be confused in any way with "popular" and "non-class" government. He goes on to say:

"The class that has seized political power has done so, conscious of the fact that it has seized power alone. This is implicit in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat: This concept has meaning only when one class knows that it alone takes political power into its own hands, and does not deceive either itself or others by talk about popular, elected government, sanctified by the whole people."

Having seized power, the proletariat may find it necessary to enter into certain alliances to maintain that power. These alliances, however, are only temporary for the purpose of consolidating the revolutionary victory. It is emphasized again on page 52 that violence is essential, although not exclusive. The following passages are enlightening (J.A. 1750):

"But of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not merely mean violence, although there is no dictatorship without violence.

"Dictatorship (says Lenin) does not mean violence alone, although it is impossible without violence. It likewise signifies a higher organization of labor than

that which previously existed. (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 305)"

It involves the concept of "exercise of violence, unrestricted by law" (p. 54). Also significant is the position to be held by the Communist Party in the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is stated (p. 100): "The stronger the Communist Party created by us in each country the sooner will the 'Soviet idea' triumph." The Communist Party has declared itself to be necessary to the working class not only before the seizure of power and not only during the seizure of power, but before the power has passed into the hands of the working class. It is further stated (p. 101) that the Party must keep in control until the classless society is finally attained.

From *Problems of Leninism* (Ex. 138, pp. 34-38, J.A. 1500-1510) it will be seen what meaning Lenin and Stalin give to the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the core of the dictatorship is the Party which gives directions. These directions are carried out by the mass organizations of the proletariat and are fulfilled by the general population. The minority seizes power and controls because the exploited workers have not yet developed their human faculties. There is another step which may become necessary. If the bourgeoisie resist or there is intervention in its behalf then the active body is the proletariat as a class. The Party takes power, the Party governs the country, and it is the core of this power; but it takes power in the name and purportedly on behalf of the class.

In *Foundations of Leninism* (Ex. 121, p. 53), the origin of the dictatorship of the proletariat is thus stated (J.A. 1431-1432):

"Briefly: the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule—unrestricted by law and based on force—of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a rule enjoying the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses. (*The State and Revolution.*)

“From this follow two main conclusions:

“*First conclusion*: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be ‘complete’ democracy, democracy for all, for the rich as well as for the poor; the dictatorship of the proletariat ‘must be a state that is democratic in a new way—for * the proletarians and the propertyless in general—and dictatorial in a new way—against * the bourgeoisie . . .’ (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 34.)” * My italics.—J.S. (Ex. 121, p. 53).

“*Second conclusion*: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot arise as the result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can arise only as the result of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucratic machine, the bourgeois police.” (Ex. 121, p. 54).

We conclude that “dictatorship of the proletariat” as used in the Classics connotes a seizure of power by or in the name of the proletariat through violence, if necessary, and the absolute and despotic rule by a minority in the name of the proletariat.

In addition to the requirements for a rigid Party organization with a hard core of dedicated workers, noted above, the over-all policies and rules for effectuating the ends and objectives of the Party are to be found in the Classics. These are effected through an organizational principle known as “Democratic Centralism” and by general directions for strategy and tactics.

The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* (Ex. 330, p. 198, J.A. 1623) states that in July and August 1917, prior to the successful October Revolution, the CPSU adopted “new Party rules” providing that “all Party organizations shall be built on the principle of *democratic centralism*”, which provided, inter alia, that all directing bodies of the Party shall be elected; that they give periodic reports to Party organizations; that there be strict Party discipline and the subordination of the

minority to the majority; and that all decisions of higher bodies shall be absolutely binding on lower bodies and on all Party members.

Strategy and Tactics of The Proletarian Revolution (Ex. 343, p. 62) states (J.A. 1658):

“The Party is the vanguard of the working class, and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active and most courageous members. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out owing to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain inseparable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.”

“Democratic Centralism” is stated by the witnesses for Respondent to represent the highest form of democracy in that it provides that all decisions and policies of the Party are determined by the membership and that authority flowed up from this membership through intermediate local and regional committees to the central committee. A decision once made, however, would be binding on all members. Witnesses for Petitioner testified that “Democratic Centralism” was theoretically a two-way process by which authority flowed upward from Party cells through intermediate local or regional committees to the top and discipline flowed downward from the same channels. However, they stated that in practice the double process has been reduced to a single process in which discipline flows

downward with limited right of discussion in the lower echelons on matters of local tactics.¹

This policy is strongly expressed in the *Programme of the Communist International* (Ex. 125, p. 84, J.A. 1464):

“This international Communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movements to its general and lasting interests and in the strict fulfillment, by all members, of the decisions passed by the leading bodies of the Communist International.”

The idea behind democratic centralism is best expressed by Stalin in *Foundations of Leninism* (Ex. 121, pp. 119-121, J.A. 1442): What is required for success is an iron party under iron discipline. A Communist Party will only be able to perform its duty if its Party center is a powerful and authoritative organ. No factions are permitted—there must be absolute unity of will and that must emanate from the Party's center. All groups or factions which disagree must be immediately expelled.

We conclude from the whole record that “Democratic Centralism”, as it is used in the Classics, is an organizational principle which contemplates a rigid discipline emanating from the top of the movement, binding on the parent and all subsidiary organizations and on all members.

¹ As witness Kornfeder states it, (J.A. 306) he was taught that the Party's basic form of organization is a super-centralized political party with a high degree of discipline. He describes it as a military type of political organization with an established chain of command, permitting lower units considerable leeway in discussing local tactical problems. He states that he was taught that the general staff or the general headquarters of the organization was the Communist International, in Moscow. At the time of which he speaks, he says that the Communist parties of all countries were affiliated with the Communist International. Witness Philbrick stated (J.A. 780-781) when asked whether a member of his group could refuse to accept the decision of the Cominform and still continue membership in the Communist Party of the United States, that such member could not continue as a member of the Party. Witness Lantner (J.A. 973-974) says that it was a breach of democratic centralism for any Communist Party anywhere, including the CPUSA, to refuse to follow the dictates of the Soviet Union.

of such organizations. Failure to adhere to such discipline is punishable by expulsion from the movement.

With the organizational structure thus indicated, the Classics then provide strategic and tactical directions for arriving at the objectives of Marxism-Leninism.

One of the characteristics of Marxism-Leninism is that in addition to its doctrine it also provides directives for the attainment of the objectives contemplated by such doctrine. Marxism-Leninism is declared to be a guide to action. (*History of the CPSU (Bolshevik)*) (Ex. 330, p. 306, J.A. 1630). While the ends to be reached are fixed, the manner and methods of reaching them, it will be seen, are exceedingly flexible. What these are appear most concisely in *Strategy and Tactics of The Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 343, J.A. 1647-1655). In summary, it states the following: The strategy and tactics were elaborated in the period of proletarian revolution when the question of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie became a question of immediate practice. Lenin brought into the light of day the ideas of Marx and Engels on tactics and strategy and developed them further into a "system of rules and principles for the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat." (J.A. 1648). Communists of every country must adapt themselves to the peculiar features of the economics, politics, culture and national composition of the country in which they are operating (J.A. 1649). As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries, the unity of international tactics of the Communist working-class movement requires, not the elimination of variety, but an adaptation of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) to the national and state differences. The vanguard of the working class having been won over, the next step is to seek the transition or approach to the proletarian revolution (J.A. 1650). The revolutionary class must be able to master all forms of social activity and must be ready to pass from one form to another with the utmost expedition (J.A. 1650). The

tactics of the Bolsheviks were correct because they were the only international tactics and did everything possible in one country for the development, support and stirring up of the revolution in all countries (J.A. 1651). Bolshevism has helped in a practical way to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America (J.A. 1651-1652). The world proletarian revolution has been assisted, accelerated and supported by the victory of the proletariat in Russia (J.A. 1652). The objective elements of the working class movement are the economic development of the country, the development of capitalism, the disintegration of the old government, the spontaneous movements of the proletariat. The collision of classes proceeds irrespective of the will of the proletariat. But the subjective element, the reflection in the minds of the proletariat of these processes, is the subject of the directing influences of strategy and tactics (J.A. 1652-1653). The theory of Marxism postulates that the fall of the bourgeoisie, the seizure of power by the proletariat and the replacement of capitalism by socialism are inevitable (J.A. 1653). Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution (J.A. 1654) and it changes with the transition of the revolution from one stage to another and remains unchanged throughout the duration of a given stage (J.A. 1655). Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat during the ebb and flow of the movement, changing the forms of struggle and its slogans (J.A. 1656). Thus, in the Russian revolution changes were made as the struggle progressed; strikes, boycotts, slogans were used and varied along with the forms of organization, a worker's party operated more or less openly, as the immediate situation required. In the earlier phases the Party was compelled to resort to tactics of retreat. When the revolution ebbed, operations were less open and the Party went underground; and cultural work and the organizations "permitted by law" took the place of revolutionary mass organizations. The same was true

during later stages of the revolution (J.A. 1656-1657). Tactics are the operations suited to the concrete situation of the struggle at any given moment (J.A. 1657). The successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized and closely linked up with the masses. The Party is a revolutionary organization, with these fundamental strategic aims: It must extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and youth. It must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations, e.g., trade unions, factory councils, cooperatives, sport and cultural organizations. It is particularly important to win over the trade unions (J.A. 1456). Leadership of wide sections of the toiling masses should be acquired by the proletariat and the membership of the middle classes of the peasantry must be secured (J.A. 1456). It must carry on propaganda against all forms of "chauvinism" and against "imperialist" maltreatment of enslaved peoples and races (e.g., Negroes, "yellow labor" and anti-semitism) (J.A. 1457). In determining its line of tactics, each National Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie and fit slogans and methods of struggle to the circumstances of the particular country. Demands and slogans must be lent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party is to utilize the daily needs and struggles of the working class as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power (J.A. 1458-1459). When the ruling class is disorganized, propaganda in favor of increasingly transitional slogans and mass action should be used. Strikes and armed demonstrations should be used, as well as intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy (J.A. 1459). When conditions are right, it is dangerous to fail to start

rebellion. When the revolutionary tide is at ebb, partial slogans and demands should be made which correspond with the everyday needs of the workers. United front tactics should then be used (J.A. 1460). In this period of marking time, demands and slogans should be made in such spheres as labor, local politics and world politics, e.g., the attitude toward the USSR, the struggle against "imperialism" and the war danger, and systematic preparation for the fight against imperial war (J.A. 1461-1462). Also systematic work must be carried on among the proletarian and peasant youth; and, in imperialist countries, Communist Parties must impair the war effort against colonies (J.A. 1462). The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the growth of the Communist International are all accelerating the development of the world Socialist revolution (J.A. 1658). The capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes. The united front of the working class must be established. The victory of the revolution has to be prepared for by a strong proletarian revolutionary party (Ex. 343, 81-82; J.A. 1658). When the country in which they live engages in an imperialist war in order to utilize the economic and political crisis, it is the duty of Communists to turn the war into a civil war for the overthrow of capitalism (J.A. 1463). Should an imperialist war break out, the interest of the workers of all countries demands that the defense of the Soviet Union be considered paramount (J.A. 1463, 1659).

From this resume, it becomes apparent that the rules for making the doctrine effective have within them instructions for short range and long range action and that they are intended for more than local application. In addition, there has been provided an elasticity which makes them applicable under an endless variety of circumstances. Considerable significance, therefore, may attach to their use by allied groups under given

circumstances at a given time. Therefore, the manner and extent of their application by the CPUSA is a factor to be considered in determining whether the United States Party is a part of a world-wide movement and whether it is dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union.

Another factor of Marxism-Leninism which pervades the Classics with the same insistence as its international revolutionary character is the dominant position of the Soviet Union, that is to say, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the world Communist movement. At an earlier date, i.e., after the successful revolution in Russia, Stalin points out (*Problems of Leninism* (Ex. 138, p. 64, J.A. 1510)) that for an ultimate victory of socialism in the world, the protection of that Russian victory by workers of all countries is necessary. In *Foundations of Leninism* (Ex. 121 at p. 19) he quotes Lenin (J.A. 1429-1430):

“ ‘History has now confronted us [i.e., the Russian Marxist-J.S.] with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat’.

“In other words, the centre of the revolutionary movement was bound to shift to Russia.

“As we know, the course of the revolution in Russia has more than vindicated Lenin's prediction.

“Is it surprising, after all this, that a country which has accomplished such a revolution and possesses such a proletariat should have been the birthplace of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution?

“Is it surprising that Lenin, the leader of this proletariat, became the creator of this theory and tactics and the leader of the international proletariat?”

* * * * *

In *The Theory of the Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 422, p. 87, J.A. 1747) Stalin states it is necessary to support Russia in order to make it “the basis of the further unfolding of the world revolution, into the lever for the further disintegration of imperialism.” He emphasizes this (J.A. 1747) by asserting that “the victorious proletariat of Russia” should “after it has expropriated the capitalists and organized its socialist production at home,” rise against the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise insurrection in them against the capitalists, and even use military force against the exploiting classes and their states.

Dimitroff in *The United Front* (Ex. 149, at pp. 279 and 280; J.A. 1545-1548) restates the importance of the USSR to the international proletariat. And in the *Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International* (Ex. 8, p. 67, J.A. 1332) it will be seen that the Russian Soviet Republic is “grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers in all countries.”

What is being advocated is an extension of Lenin’s hard core principle to a wider area: Whereas in the Soviet Union the Party is that core, in the world scheme the USSR becomes the center. As such, it must be protected, and from it will emanate leadership which will direct and hold together the party in other countries. This thought is thus expressed in *Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 343, p. 81, J.A. 1658):

“In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and

directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—Soviet power.

“The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle which has set in among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organized in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International, *are all accelerating and will continue to accelerate the development of the world Socialist revolution.*”

At pages 95 and 96 (J.A. 1659) it is declared that if an imperialist war breaks out, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

It will be seen from the above that allegiance to the Soviet Union assumes considerable proportions in the Classics of Marxism-Leninism. First, after the 1917 Revolution, it must be protected from outside intervention. Thereafter, its role as a leader of a successful world revolution is stressed. At all times, loyalty and assistance are due it in any conflict which may arise between it and any “imperialist” power.

We conclude from the Classics that the Soviet Union has a specific place in Marxism-Leninism; it represents the first victory of the proletariat; therefore, it is the center of the world proletariat and it is entitled to the allegiance of the proletariat everywhere. The authority of its Communist Party is international. The corollary of this is that a Communist Party which adheres to Marxism-Leninism is, of necessity, under the domination and control of the Soviet Union.

It is also evident from the Classics that as the Soviet Union is to be considered the leader of the world

proletariat in the class war, so the United States takes on a special importance as the mightiest of the "imperialist" powers, the arch enemy of the proletariat. Lenin, in *Imperialism* (Ex. 140, p. 125, J.A. 1521) states: "In the United States economic development in the last decades has been even more rapid than in Germany, and for this very reason the parasitic character of modern American capitalism has stood out with particular prominence." Stalin points out (*Foundations of Leninism*, Ex. 121, last par., p. 55 and 1st two pars., p. 56, J.A. 1432-1433) that conditions in the United States had changed since the days of Marx and that this country could no longer be considered one in which there could be a "peaceful evolution of bourgeois democracy into a proletarian democracy." The United States has become definitely "imperialistic" and "the law of violent proletarian revolution" becomes applicable to it (J.A. 1433-1434). This quotation from Lenin in this connection (J.A. 1433) reveals how strongly the Soviet Union felt that action was required in this country:

"Today, said Lenin, 'in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and the last representatives—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty', in the sense that militarism and bureaucracy were absent, have slid down entirely into the all-European, filthy, bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. Today, both in England and in America, the 'preliminary condition for every real people's revolution' is the smashing, the *destruction* of the 'ready-made state machine' (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European imperialist perfection.')" (*Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 37)

A Resolution On The American Question (Ex. 43) issued by the Communist International in 1929, begins with the statement that (J.A. 1352): "The United States of America has developed into the mightiest imperialist power . . . The task of the Workers (Communist) Party is to form a broad united front and to intensify the struggle against American imperialism." (See also R. 2290, 2338-2339). Specific attention is directed to this aspect of the approach to be used in applying Marxism-Leninism to the United States. In Dimitroff's *The United Front* (Ex. 149, pp. 41-43, J.A. 1546) an anti-fascist party is suggested. We find, at page 43, some revealing language. "Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative for the creation of such a party. . . . We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it." The "we" who are planning parties in the United States have "comrades" there who have already started work in that direction. The *Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International* (Ex. 8, p. 28, J.A. 1326) has this to say:

"The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where, in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary."

In *Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution* it is stated (J.A. 1651-1652):

"Bolshevism has helped in a practical way to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America more powerfully than any party in any other country has ever succeeded in doing."

From these expressions, it must be concluded that the Classics disclose a positive attitude on the subject of the United States which makes it a prime objective for the activities of the Soviet Union and for any of its subsidiaries.

In order fully to understand what Marxism-Leninism is, the significance of certain of its programs and policies must be considered. Certainly in the Classics themselves, these programs and policies are all aimed at one objective: the forwarding of the world revolution. That such a revolution was not an evolutionary one in the normal use of this term appears from Stalin's statement in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Ex. 330, p. 168; see J.A. 1618-1622) which he presents as one of Lenin's teachings; without a revolution of the working class capitalism cannot be overthrown; even though capitalism is moribund, it must be given the coup de grace (J.A. 1620):

"Lenin showed that under imperialism the unevenness of development and the contradictions of capitalism have grown particularly acute, that the struggle for markets and fields for the export of capital, the struggle for colonies, for sources of raw material, makes periodical imperialist wars for the redivision of the world inevitable."

There is nothing to indicate that "The elements of a war of liberation from imperialism" is used in any figurative sense. The context in which this appears leads to a contrary conclusion.

Consequently, while some of the policies and programs may have a dual character, one of the elements of each of them is always the furtherance of the war against capitalism and of speeding the ultimate victory of the proletariat over the "imperialists". This we find to be so in work with and in labor unions, with youth and with minorities; it is the real purpose in resorting to secrecy, entering into united fronts, and in resorting to slogans;

it is the motivating force in training Communists, requiring reports from them and insisting that they do not deviate from the strict Party line.

As appears from Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* (Ex. 417, pp. 105, *et seq.*) the Marxist should not be interested in labor unions, as such, but rather from the use which can be made of such organizations as part of the revolutionary scheme. A union can be used as a front for political, agitational and revolutionary organizations. As Stalin points out in *Problems of Leninism* (Ex. 138, p. 30, J.A. 1508-1509), they are the all embracing organizations of the working class. "They constitute a school of Communism." "They unite the masses of the workers with the vanguard." In effect, what Lenin and Stalin are saying is: Here are ready-made groups of substantial size, made up of members of the class which according to the labor theory of value are the exploited, and consequently should belong in the revolution; and infiltration of such groups by a hard core of diligent workers for the Party offers a ready field for propaganda and proselytizing. As it is stated in the *Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International* (Ex. 8, p. 29, J.A. 1328),

"Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses."

The same volume discusses the trade union movement (Ex. 8, p. 53, *et seq.*), and (J.A. 1331) it states: "Consequently, the Communists must strive to create as far as possible complete unity between the trade unions and the Communist Party, and to subordinate the unions to the practical leadership of the Party, as the advance guard of the workers' revolutions." *Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 343, pp. 67-68) states that one of the principal tasks of a Communist is the joining of a union to win the leadership in the workers' struggle.

We conclude that the Classics direct Communists to engage in activity in trade unions in order to utilize such unions for the purposes of the Party and to further the world revolution.

The Classics disclose that youth programs are considered to be important. Concerning the Young Communist League, Stalin says in *Problems of Leninism* (Ex. 138, p. 31), "Its task is to help the Party educate the younger generation in the spirit of socialism. It provides young reserves for all the other mass organizations of the proletariat in all branches of administration." Lenin's attitude on the necessity of particular emphasis on youth may be gleaned in part from two quotations in an article in *Political Affairs* (Ex. 477, pp. 86 and 88, J.A. 1775-1776):

"Is it not natural for young people to predominate in our party, the party of revolution? We are the party of the future and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators and innovators are always followed most eagerly by the youth. We are a party of self-sacrificing struggle against the rotten old system, and the youth are always the first in self-sacrificing struggles."

* * * * *

"The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth, and still more the working-class youth . . . Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development. If you are unable to organize and stimulate them to action, they will turn to the Mensheviks and the Gapon, and this inexperience of theirs will cause five times more damage. . . . Only you must unfailingly organize, organize and organize hundreds of circles. . . . Either you create new, young, fresh, energetic, militant organizations everywhere for revolutionary Social-Democratic work of all sorts and kinds, and among all strata, or you will perish, enveloped in the glory of 'committee' bureaucrats."

Dimitroff offers another reason for enlisting the efforts of youth (*The United Front*, Ex. 149, p. 150, J.A. 1546-1547):

“The whole anti-fascist youth is interested in uniting and organizing its forces. Therefore you, comrades, must find such ways, forms and methods of work as will assure the formation, in the capitalist countries, of a new type of mass youth organizations, to which no vital interest of the working youth will be alien, organizations which, without copying the Party, will fight for all the interests of the youth and will bring up the youth in the spirit of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.”

There is no question that the enrolling and training of youth is deemed to have value in the world revolutionary movement. From the *Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International* (Ex. 8, p. 8, J.A. 1322), it appears that the International League of Communist Youth was given a representative with a right to vote on the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Communist International had the right to a similar representative on the Executive Committee of the League. And in the *Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution* (Ex. 343, p. 69), it is stated that “Systematic work must also be carried on among the proletarian and peasant youth . . .” it will be seen from this that a youth program is considered an essential part of the activities of the Party in all countries and is required by the dictates of Marxism-Leninism.

We conclude that the Classics direct Communists to engage in youth programs for the purposes of the Party and to provide reserves for the world revolution.

In *Foundations of Leninism* (Ex. 121, p. 89, J.A. 1430), Stalin states that Lenin developed the tactics of Marx and Engels and combined them into a system of rules and guiding principles for the leadership of the class struggle.

Among these, as noted above, is the use of slogans and

their propaganda value. (*Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution*, Ex. 343, pp. 66-67); *Foundations of Leninism* (Ex. 121, p. 92). "Imperialism" is one of these; and as a corollary thereto, "anti-imperialism" and "just and unjust wars". "Peace" was another of the slogans which eventually came into use. These slogans have been used by the Soviet Union, by the Communist Parties throughout the world, and by the CPUSA. Their common use, contemporaneously and currently by the Soviet Union and the CPUSA, is significant. Their use also is recommended for the purpose of forwarding the world revolution. (*Strategy and Tactics, supra*).

The same can be said to apply to united front tactics. Throughout the Classics, the value of such tactics is stressed. The extent of such collaboration furnishes a considerable part of the texts of the writings of Lenin and Stalin. Dimitroff's *The United Front* (Ex. 149; J.A. 1545-1548) devotes itself to that tactical principle. Again, it should be noted that united fronts, at the organizational, political and national levels, are to be used but not in any way that might bolster capitalism. At all times they are to be used to protect the Party in Russia, to increase the number of its adherents and always to promote the world revolution. Their simultaneous adoptions by the Parties in various forms in various countries also cannot be ignored. This stands out particularly at the time of the Soviet Union's changes of alliances before and during World War II.

We conclude that the use of slogans as shibboleths for the purposes of Communist Parties, including Respondent, in order to advance the world revolution, is directed by the Classics.

Secrecy and its uses also finds a place of prominence in the Classics. (See Ex. 343, pp. 22-26; see J.A. 1657; and Ex. 417). Respondent contends that its practice by the CPUSA was not for the purpose of concealing foreign direction, domination and control or of expediting or promoting its objectives, but rather to protect its members

from local hysteria or from being harassed and penalized economically for the holding of unpopular views. In *What Is To Be Done?*, which Respondent urged its members to read as recently as 1951, Lenin shows how Party members can use trade unions as a front, keeping their identity as revolutionists secret. Stalin, in his speeches on the CPUSA (Ex. 109), published by the Central Committee of the CPUSA, in pamphlet form, speaks of the danger of exposing the "conspirative" nature of the Communist Party (J.A. 1425). The manner of use and timing, and the nature and degree of these practices negatives the contention of Respondent's witnesses. (see also: J.A. 667-668). Certainly, as used in the Classics, secrecy was not always to be used for legal purposes. (*What Is To Be Done?*, Ex. 417, p. 7).

We conclude that the secrecy directed by the Classics is, among other things, for the purpose of concealing the conspiratorial nature of Communist Parties and for the advancement of the world revolution.

Operationally, it will be seen that the Classics propose a strong central organization, on an international as well as on a national scale. As Trachtenberg says in the introduction to *What Is To Be Done?* (Ex. 417): "Only a centralized party, working according to a carefully prepared plan, with each member assigned a specific task for which he is to be held accountable, could successfully lead the Russian working class in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and tsarist rule." Lenin points out that this, it is necessary for the organization to be composed of professional revolutionists, trained men, that no movement can be durable without a stable organization of leaders to maintain its continuity. The training of cadres is thus basic in the movement (p. 116); and in view of the centralized nature of the organization, leaders and cadres once trained, can be depended upon to keep in touch with the center of the movement and keep it informed of all that transpired by reports.

• We conclude that the training of leaders and cadres and

the reporting by such leaders to the controlling body of the movement is directed by the Classics.

The position taken by the Classics on the questions of Minorities and Colonials is also basic to the whole movement advocated by Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, particularly the latter two. Any contributions in those directions by their collaborators is no more than elaboration and amplification of the words of these four. They are implicit in Lenin's definition of imperialism (See Ex. 121, pp. 76-82; Ex. 138; Ex. 140; Ex. 343, pp. 63-65; J.A. 1434-1435, 1655, 1658). It will be seen from these and other portions of the Classics that the founders of the movement were not concerned with purely local conditions in Russia. In *Foundations of Leninism*, cited above, it becomes clear (p. 79) that the national problem is part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution to be used for that purpose only to the extent that it is of advantage to such revolution (J.A. 1427-1431). This also appears from *Strategy and Tactics* (*supra*, pp. 63-65; J.A. 1651-1652).

We conclude that the Classics contemplate work among Colonials and Minorities to advance the world revolution (see also; J.A. 1462-1463).

One of the requirements of Marxism-Leninism is conformity. Discipline is considered vital. Deviation from doctrine and practice is not permissible except in local problems in the area of minor tactics. That non-deviation is abjured is patent from *Foundations of Leninism* (Ex. 121, pp. 119-21, J.A. 1442):

“The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action on the part of all members of the Party.”

As stated by Stalin (J.A. 1442), the existence of factions is incompatible either with the party's unity or its iron discipline. He quotes Lenin:

"In the present epoch of acute civil war," says Lenin, "a Communist Party will be able to perform its duty only if it is organised in the most centralised manner, only if iron discipline bordering on military prevails in it, and if its Party centre is a powerful and authoritative organ, wielding wide powers and enjoying the universal confidence of the members of the Party." (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 204).

The penalty for nonconformity is expulsion from the Party (p. 121). (See also *Strategy and Tactics*, Ex. 343, p. 62).

We conclude that the Classics require conformity on the part of all organizations and members in the movement and that no deviation from the party line is permitted on penalty of expulsion therefrom.

From the Classics themselves, Marxism-Leninism constitutes an uncodified system of political philosophy and practice which declares that it is inevitable that a classless state of society will be reached through an intermediate stage in which there will be socialist states controlled by dictatorships of the proletariat under the leadership of the Soviet Union. For the attainment of these dictatorships, a hard core of revolutionary zealots is required who operate under exceedingly flexible rules on an international basis. The vehicle for their operation is a so-called political party, the Communist Party, which is provided with strategic and tactical directives. The first objective is to bring to an end capitalistic (bourgeoisie) society. For this purpose, special attention must be paid to labor unions, youth, Minorities and Colonies. Temporary alliances, known as fronts, may be entered into, but always with the ultimate revolutionary goals in view. Capitalism is termed "imperialism". Slogans should be employed in aid of the Party's objectives. "Anti-imperialism" and "peace" are two of the slogans which may be effective. The leader of the movement which is integrated on an international scale, must be the Soviet Union, which must be protected as the first country in which the dictatorship of the proletariat

has been attained. All allegiance is due the Soviet Union as the leader of the vanguard of the proletariat. Force and violence shall be used to reach objectives if persuasion and guile are ineffective. Where lawful methods are effective, these should be used; where not, unlawful methods should be resorted to. Secrecy, where necessary, should also be used. Discipline must be rigid, though a certain amount of latitude is permissible in local tactical matters, under an organizational structure designated as democratic centralism. This is supposed to be a two-way process but orders emanating from the top, which is the Soviet Union, may not be ignored. Operations are to be on a world-wide basis, including in its sphere, *inter alia*, the United States. Taken on its face, Marxism-Leninism, as it appears in the Classics, is a system under which there is to be a world-wide revolution for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the domination and control of the Soviet Union. This revolution is to take place in the various countries as conditions permit. An accepted Marxist-Leninist party is one which is a part of this system.

Subjecting the content of the Classics to further scrutiny in the light of the testimony of the witnesses for both sides, we are better able to reach a determination of the real meaning of Marxism-Leninism. All of the witnesses (except Petitioner's witnesses, Dr. Mosely, Logofet and Carington) testified to some knowledge of the Classics and of Marxism-Leninism. They studied it, were taught it, or were subject to it in practice. Admittedly, the Classics have been in use by the members of the CPUSA continuously to the date of the hearings in this proceeding.

Respondent's chief witness concerning Marxism-Leninism was Herbert Aptheker, a teacher at the Jefferson School of Social Science, a school with a general Marxism-Leninism orientation (J.A. 1261), whom it offers as an expert and who says Marxism-Leninism principles are fundamental to the CPUSA. (J.A. 1262).

Summarized, his testimony is to the effect that Marxism-Leninism is in its inception and thereafter to be found in

the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin Stalin and others (J.A. 1262-1267); that its heart is dialectic materialism; that its aim is the end of capitalization and the attainment of a socialist state which will eventually dissolve into Communism; that it is a science, usable in all countries as such and that in this sense it applies to the United States which is an "imperialist" nation; that it only contemplates revolution in the sense of an evolutionary change to rule by the proletariat, and that a dictatorship of the proletariat means rule by that class when that class represents a majority; that its international aspects are only fraternal and represent a similarity of interests of the working class of all countries; that the Classics are used for illumination and for historical background by Communists; that Marxism-Leninism provides a guide for action only as a science would be a guide for a scientific experiment; that it contains no directives and the CPUSA is not controlled or dominated by the Soviet Union thereby; that the name Marxism-Leninism is not used to denote any hidden meaning for the direction of initiatives in the Communist movement (J.A. 1242-1274).

What is not clear from his testimony is the actual content of Marxism-Leninism and the extent of its applicability to the CPUSA. It is not possible to determine therefrom what portion of the Classics have asserted current validity and how much of Marxism-Leninism is acknowledged to be applicable in any particular place. Moreover, the credibility of his testimony as a whole is impaired by the inverted outlook it discloses. An example of this appears (J.A. 1272) from his explanation of Lenin's use of Aesopian language (*Imperialism*, Ex. 140, p. 7, J.A. 1518-1520) which Lenin said was used to avoid Czarist censorship when the pamphlet was originally written. Antheker says, as a Marxist-Leninist scholar, that Marxists understood Lenin's use of Aesopian language not in terms of deception: Lenin was not trying to fool anybody; he was trying to illuminate ideas by the use of allegory (J.A. 1272). This is patently not so, as far as the censors were concerned. It did apply to the initiatives of his own party.